

# The Republican.

No. 14. Vol. V.] LONDON, FRIDAY, April 5, 1822. [PRICE 6d.]

## TO THE REPUBLICANS OF THE ISLAND OF GREAT BRITAIN.

Dorchester Gaol, April 2,

CITIZENS,

Year 3, of the Spanish Revolution.

ALL on the Continent of Europe, South of Spain, is in a state of momentary uncertainty. Russia has evidently one eye at the Turks in the East, and the other at the Republicans in the North, and it is now rumoured that in case of a war with Turkey, the Republicans of Poland are sufficiently formidable to threaten insurrection and independence. This state of things keeps Russia wavering: she knows not what to do.

General Berthon, in France, is still at large somewhere, and this speaks volumes in the absence of more correct information. Some accounts say, he is moving with 20,000 men, and opposing all obstacles, others that he is wandering alone, so that we must wait the result to know the truth. This will not be an idle year in Europe.

The Greeks seem to be acting upon the defensive, and to be waiting for Turkish armaments that are advancing against them, and in the meantime improving their internal strength and arranging their resources. We have heard nothing new from them of late: but their independence is now placed beyond doubt, unless Russia steps in to assist Turkey in crushing them: a thing not unlikely if the Republicans of the South display a menacing front. A monarchy never yet warred upon any sound principles, or any just cause: always against them.

In Spain, Ferdinand is humbled to solicit the company and friendship of his successor, Riego. We are told that they have actually smoked a segar together! A successful resistance neither constitutes rebellion or treason: a circumstance fully verified in Spain at this moment. Ferdinand denounced Riego as a traitor, in the beginning of 1820:

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Ferdinand solicits his company in 1822, just two years after. An attempt was even made last year to construe the conduct of Riego into treason: but the people of Spain, from one extremity to the other, threatened the right head, if it was necessary that a traitor should die: so now Ferdinand considers his own safety depends upon his behaviour to Riego, and acts according.

At home all is going on as it has been for years past, TAXING, GRUMBLING, PETITIONING, and there it ends. George Canning is to be King of India, and it is much to be wished that all our tax-eaters bastards, and others, would betake themselves there with him. New scenes for delusion would open themselves there whilst they are all receding in this Island. It may be fairly calculated that the last species of emigration from Europe will be an emigration of Kings and Courtiers. Such playthings may amuse and dazzle the Hindoos: whilst the empire of China opens a new and large field for plunder and murder for them.

Having another shop opened in London for the sale of my publications, I am happy to inform you that I have a multitude of offers for shopmen. I print two letters from Leeds on this head, but these are not the only ones ready to start from Leeds. My friend in London begins with a London Shopman, and, if he be arrested, we shall have up a few more from the country, then sell again through the screen, and so not allow them to be arrested more than one in a session, or term, just to keep up a continued defence of our principles in the Courts of Law.

The petition which has been presented to the Parliament in Barkley's case has been taken up by some friends whom we neither of us know. I have no information upon the matter but what I can get from the papers. The same, or some other friends, have kindly offered to fee counsel for Boyle, but by the following Extract of a Letter from him to me, it will be seen he nobly resolves to do his duty to the best of his ability.

"SIR, Newgate, March 20, 1822.  
 "I HAVE resolved to defend myself, I must acknowledge that when I was offered Mr. Cooper, I felt inclined to accept him, because I knew him to be an able man; but I will not run the least chance of having to stand at the bar to hear my principles denounced by my Counsel; principles which I feel a pleasure in possessing, and which I have always openly avowed ever since I imbibed them. There is another reason that induced me to pre-



for defending myself, that is, I wish to shew the Common Serjeant that the sentences he has passed upon Holmes and Rhodes, will not deter others from openly defending the principles they hold. I cannot help thinking, but that the gentlemen who offered to see Counsel for me, are friends to free discussion, though I do not think they hold the same opinions as myself on religion."

A man such as this deserves all the encouragement that can be bestowed upon him. The men who have come round me of late, although they are not the richest in money, still they are rich in virtue and courage. Shew me any thing in history that exceeds for disinterestedness and virtue the conduct of the persons who have rallied round me since my sister was imprisoned. Of none of them have I the least personal knowledge, excepting Mrs. Wright, and there is no other tie between us than a mutual advocacy of the same principles. I know nothing in the history of the past that exceeds or even equals this.

R. CARLILE.

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TO MR. JAMES HUMPHREYS, OF SPRINGDALE,  
NEAR HUDDERSFIELD, YORKSHIRE.

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*(Continued from p. 416.)*

Here is a challenge to all Priests, all philosophers, and all men of science; and to be more explicit, I will enlarge upon and explain the nature of my challenge. The universe, as far as we perceive and conceive, is made up of what we call planetary systems; that is, solid globes of matter, of various sizes, floating in various motions, at respective distances from each other, in fluid or gaseous matter. Now, I hazard the assertion, that these respective distances from one globe to another are filled up with what we denominate gaseous matter, and that there is a constant interchange of matter with the nearest globes, so as to leave no vacuity, and that this constant, never-ceasing interchange of matter keeps up and forms the principle of motion, and constitutes motion an inherent property of matter. Matter is the basis of motion, but motion is a property of matter, as much as solidity, liquidity, or fluidity: in short, motion is matter, and to this one simple word matter I will reduce

every thing mental or corporeal that can be suggested to me. I am not aware that any such a challenge has been made to the world before, but I have made it, I do now make it. I might fairly say here, that I have written a full answer to your pamphlet, and here stop to see whether you will take up my challenge; but in the next paragraph to that which I have quoted, you speak of "demonstration;" so if it be but for pastime and amusement, I will follow you.

After amusing yourself with an erroneous idea of having refuted the above proposition of Mr. Law, you say:—

"He then proceeds with asserting, that 'every creature is nothing else but *nature* put into a certain form of existence; and, therefore, a creature not formed out of nature is a contradiction.' How obvious must be the blunder here to every philosophical mind." There is no blunder, Mr. Humphreys, on the part of Mr. Law, he has stated a philosophical truth; you, in carping upon it, have committed a blunder most egregious. Nature is matter in motion in all its varieties, and if Mr. Law had used the word *matter* instead of *nature*, he would have been equally correct.

You add, "It argues not if nature changes its form of existence ten thousand times, if it were *at first* created out of nothing, if it changed its form perpetually through an eternity to come, every form that it could possibly assume, cannot alter but that it once was in a state of non-existence." Then give us a proof—explain what you mean by *non-existence*, when you apply the term to *matter as a whole*. This you cannot do, and to do it I defy you; for, beyond matter you have not an idea of reality. Your very ideas are material: and this brings me round again to the subject of my challenge, for upon this one point every thing must centre.

The next point where you speak of demonstration is at page 36, as follows: "There is but one argument which can possibly be advanced with any shew of plausibility at all, in the support of the impossibility of matter being created out of nothing; and that argument should demonstrate the positive existence of a contradiction in the work. If it could be clearly proved that to create a world from nothing implies a contradiction, then it would be certain that no such thing is possible." I say, a plainer contradiction was never exhibited than the creation of *something* out of *nothing*. You get over it by setting up an Almighty Power, but upon first principles, to which you speak of



confining me, you should prove an Almighty Power. Independent of matter, I positively deny the existence of any Power Almighty. So it behoves you to shew it: and this again brings us back to the subject of the challenge.

The quibble you make upon the words of *nothing* and *out of nothing*, and the attempt to form a distinction between them, is not worth notice: the word *out of nothing* expresses no more than *of nothing*. It is a laying out a labyrinth of words for no purpose but to clog and confuse the mind.

I pass on to page 38, where you observe, "The word Almighty signifies unbounded, or infinite, and Almighty Power is infinite power." This is admitted as far as the words have meaning, but prove your Almighty Power first and argue from it after. I can prove to you that matter does exist, because you and I form portions of it. I extend my ideas upon this subject, and I can nowhere travel from matter; therefore, I draw the inference and make the assertion, that matter is the only infinite, and I challenge you to prove the contrary, or the contradiction. In this paragraph you infer, that as this Almighty Power is infinite, there can be no other infinite, therefore, with that Power nothing is incapable. I admit there can be but one infinite, but I deny that it consists of that alleged Almighty Power which is but the fiction of your brain, and cannot be proved. I deny that *matter* is an *Almighty Power*, although it be infinite. It is governed by its own laws, by its own properties, as much as it is the property of gunpowder to explode when fire be applied to it; which explosion, if that powder be perfect, it has not the property to resist. It is a law, a property in itself, and by an analogous reasoning, every particle of matter has its peculiar laws or properties, which it has not the power of changing; therefore I infer, that there is not an Almighty Power. —

I am quite ready to confess here an error of my own in having often admitted a Power as omnipotent, or in having used the phrase without comprehending it: but, henceforth, I renounce it, until a more capacious mind than my own can prove it to me, and make me comprehend it. If you can only meet my challenge with one reality that is not material, you will then place all my thoughts in a new train for examination. Unless you do this you must yield the palm to me.

I have before stated that the only philosophical truth you have advanced is the admission that there can be but one

infinite, that is, that one infinite quality must swallow up every other. You destroy your conclusion by giving that infinite an almighty power. The word *finite* has no relation to the word *power*, and here is a full display of your error, which forms the predominant one of your mind. Your error is here very great, for you will never reason right whilst you remain in it. Your Almighty Power is an unfounded assumption, and until you prove it, or give it up, you will get no truth into your mind.

At page 45, you charge me with not being sufficiently explicit in asserting, that "creation is not a proper word when applied to matter, and that matter is eternal because it is imperishable;" and in various other places you make similar charges upon my "Address to Men of Science." That Address was written to shew, that the state of science justified the renunciation of the Jewish or Christian idolatry. It was a call upon Men of Science, and in making that call it was not to be presumed or expected that I should think of explaining or teaching any thing of which they had a better knowledge than myself; my duty was to state a few axioms familiar to them, as a justification for my call upon them. This, I conceive, I effected, for I have since found that the pamphlet gave general satisfaction, and almost without an advertisement one thousand copies were sold in less than four months, so that I have not a copy left, save one I have revised and sent to the press for a reprint.

I know not whether you assume to yourself the character of a man of science, if you do, I can perceive nothing in your pamphlet that entitles you to it; but I am quite willing to give you further explanation upon any thing I have written. Certain it is to me that you have no correct notions of the powers and properties of matter, and it is from the science of chemistry alone that this knowledge can be obtained, a science which, it appears to me, you have not made your study.

The extracts which you have made from that "Address to Men of Science" stand unshaken, and have blunted all your shafts. It gave me great pleasure to see them echoed in your pamphlet. You have not disproved an iota of them: you have not shewn an improper word from that or any other publication of mine, excepting where I have used the phrase Almighty Power; but I will give you credit for candour, and admit that you have taken some of my best sentences, and such as I shall never blush to behold wherever I meet them.



You state that "to say matter is imperishable, therefore it is eternal, surpasses all things in logical absurdity; I might with equal plausibility, if arguing with you in favour of the Christian religion, have reasoned thus, '*the Christian religion now exists*, THEREFORE IT IS TRUE.'" Not so. I can trace the period when the Christian religion did not exist, can you do so with matter? I can develop the origin of the Christian religion, can you do so with matter? I can demonstrate that the Christian religion is a human institution, founded upon fable, can you do so with matter, or can you shew the time when, or the power by which it originated? I say you cannot, because matter swallows up time and every other power. You cannot travel in idea beyond it.

Matter is proved indestructible to all human ideas, nothing created is indestructible to human ideas. Creation, apply it to what you will, is nothing but a preparation for annihilation; therefore you cannot apply the term *creation* to matter. If you could prove to me that the solar system, of which we are part, had been created, I would shew you how it would be annihilated as a system, and still shew you that no part of its matter was destroyed. The Almighty Power which you enlist into your service weighs not a feather in the scale. It matters not that I have used the phrase, or that any other person has used it, can you prove it? I cannot, therefore I give it up as an idle word foisted upon my mind by a superstitious education.

You acknowledge that I have never admitted this Almighty Power to be supernatural, and if you had gone further into my "Observations on Dr. Gregory's Letters," you would have found that I had retracted the word *incomprehensible* and had substituted the word *incomprehended* for it. On another view of the case, the word *Almighty* may be comprehended within the term natural, for that power which produces all we behold is Almighty, even if it be but matter operating upon matter by its motions and evolutions. You have caught hold of my use of the word *Almighty*, and have given it a sense foreign to what I meant—you have given it a supernatural sense, and have spun a web of sophistry upon it that is easily unravelled by bringing back the word to the use and purpose for which I had brought it forward. But as you have reserved the demonstration of the supernatural qualities of the word *Almighty* for another work, I am compelled to wait its appearance before I can dispute it with you. It is quite vain to enquire

whether contradictions do exist in a certain proposition when your ground-work or first principle is a phantom of the mind, the reality of which remains to be proved, and which you or any other man are defied to prove; I therefore wait your proof of a supernatural power.

The fact of the indestructibility of matter is now reduced to an axiom so simple and well understood, that I am surprised to find a man, who calls himself a philosopher, questioning it. I could have only expected it from the ignorant or corrupt mind of a Priest. Bring whatever variety of matter you please to the chemist, and he will resolve it into its constituent gases. Let it be a portion of atmospheric air, a liquid of any kind, or a dense substance of any description, he will explain to you all its component parts and separate the one from the other. There is no climate ever so hot but he can reduce the temperature of a given space almost to the freezing point. There is no substance ever so hard but he can reduce it to an evaporation, but still he can destroy nothing. It is this elementary, this gaseous principle of matter that you have not yet comprehended, or if so, your mind shrinks from the conclusion necessary to be drawn from it. You speak freely of matter, but do you rightly comprehend it? Matter is not confined to that which the hand can feel, or the eye perceive, we are constantly surrounded and acted upon by its evanescent properties.

I am firmly of opinion that the mind of man is material. I threw out this idea in my "Observations on Dr. Gregory's Letters," and a person unknown to me, but who is represented to me as a philosophical friend, has ridiculed the idea thus:—"So you believe that the *motion of matter* produces mind! This is such an extraordinary *creation*, that the production of *matter* from *nothing* is quite a joke to it!" This jeer was written on the margin of a copy of the "Observations, &c." and sent to me with a variety of other remarks, some very good and others merely captious, but it has by no means shaken my opinions or ideas upon the matter, and the more I have considered the point the more deeply am I convinced that the mind is material. I am not alone on this head. I have an authority, second to none, in Mr. Lawrence, whose Lectures on Physiology have lately excited such a useful, interesting chit-chat amongst the old women in the Court of Chancery.\* A Correspondent in

\* I sincerely hope Mr. Lawrence will resent this encouraged robbery upon him, and give his Lectures to the Public in the



"The Republican," under the signature of Regulator, also supports the idea. If mind were not material, it is not too much to ask why it differs in different men? If it be spiritual, let the believers in spiritualities explain to us how varieties exist in it. We all understand what the varieties of matter mean, and if mind be any thing more than a variety of matter, let our opponents shew it. The whole progress of the life of man proves it material: the progressive advancement of the human mind in knowledge proves it material. Those fictions of the human mind denominated spiritual or supernatural are supposed to be almighty and immutable, incapable of improvement; how then can the mind of man be connected with them that is always changing, never stationary, never at rest? All is matter, Mr. Humphreys, and as you can find no room for creation in it, you will find none for annihilation.

Your first attempt, at page 56, to demonstrate that *matter is not eternal*, is futile indeed; you say: "Then I first observe, that by matter being eternal, we are to understand that the earth, the sun, the moon, and all those, by us, innumerable bodies which we frequently behold revolving in infinite space, are all of them, or rather the materials of which they are composed, both *without beginning and without end*." The eternity of the materials is what we contend for, not the position or particular shape, or form, or size of any one of them. These we conceive to be continually changing and interchanging.

I come now to page 59, where you fancy you have commenced an important demonstration, "*that every substance requires support*." I will quote the vagary you attach to these words; it is thus: "And this is the grand point—this is the foundation of that, Sir, which will mutilate your system—bear down your sophistry—repel with irresistible energy all your bombastical assertions, and totally demolish the chimerical edifice you have created on the certainty of matter being eternal." Wonderful rapture! Let us prove it.

Your argument is simply this, that wherever there is an action there must be an actor. Certainly this is granted, but you consider that matter is only an action or the substance, and then you raise up the phantom of an almighty-supernatural Power as the actor or support. But this is not

cheapest possible form. I will publish them at the price of a few pence, if he will give me liberty—not for profit, but public good, and in contempt of the threatened suppression.

necessary; I can explain the thing without the aid of your almighty-supernatural Power.

Motion is the action of matter, and matter is the actor of motion. Matter is the first principle of every thing, motion its means of operation. Motion is a property of every particle of matter, and there is not a particle of matter at rest; therefore, matter is not independent of motion, nor is motion any thing distinct from matter, although its means of operation and change. Try it which you will you cannot get rid of matter, it is the first principle. Matter is motion and motion is matter, but we necessarily distinguish matter the actor and motion the action of matter. Would you ask, what is the support of matter? I answer its motion, its own peculiar energy is its support. This was what Mr. Palmer meant when you quibbled with his saying that "matter was the cause of its own existence, or that it existed by its own internal energy." He was right, though perhaps the word *cause* was not the best word in our language for his use on that occasion. Matter, in an abstract point of view, is independent of all cause; it is itself the cause of every action. Matter is not an effect, it is the cause of motion; the effect, which jointly constitute what we designate the universe. You have travelled in idea beyond matter for an actor, and in so doing you have travelled out of science, philosophy, and common sense, into the regions of fable and fiction, and there I leave you until you find your way back again. Here I consider that I have answered and explained your error as far as page 62, and the next point on which you treat is the doctrine of necessity.

Here again you have spun a fine web of sophistry by setting up necessity as a something distinct from matter. You labour on every head to make matter a creation, a secondary object, but it is as clear to me as the light of day, that necessity is nothing more than the motion of matter. You cannot state a case in opposition, but I will prove the assertion and demonstrate the fact.

You have described *necessity* as an unlimited power, and by a multitude of words you have attempted to trace necessity as a connection with the one Infinite, but you would have been only right by confining necessity where it properly belongs, to the infinity of matter. Necessity or motion is as infinite as matter, because it is reducible to that one simple point. Necessity or motion is the action of matter, the actor. I will wait to see what objections you will



advance to my conclusions before I enter into any thing like a multitude of words by way of explanation; and I wish you to understand that I hold necessity to be but another idea for motion. There is another point I wish to lay before you for consideration: I assert that there is nothing beyond the animal organization that possesses any thing like the power of animal will. This simple point appears to me to be an indisputable proof of the validity of the doctrines of materialism.

Your assertion, that every particle of matter is independent of every other, is not correct. Every particle of matter is dependent upon the whole, and the supposition of a distinct, independent particle is a chimera, an unnatural idea. You are continually broaching ideas of vacuity for want of understanding the powers and properties of matter. A grain of sand is not a particle of matter, in an abstract point of view; it is a substance created by the motion of matter, and must again necessarily be resolved into its constituent elements by further motions. The first principles of matter are a few elementary gases, whose powers of combination and creation are not yet developed. You always speak of matter as created substances, without resolving it into its constituent gases. The gaseous principle of matter is your Almighty Power, its various combinations, which are but secondary objects, form the extent of your comprehension, beyond which you have not yet travelled. Here you may see the ground-work of all your errors, your fictions, your phantoms, your chimeras. In speaking of matter you confine your ideas to a man, a horse, a tree, a planet, which are but secondary objects, mere results of the action of matter, mere emanations from its first principles. In speaking of Nature, you use the word as a something distinct from matter, whereas, the words are synonymous, with the exception that the word Nature includes both the action and the actor, both motion and matter.

I conclude my remarks on your pamphlet with a sincere hope that you will not fail to refute if you find it practicable. Any brief essay, not exceeding sixteen pages, shall find immediate insertion in "The Republican," if you extend your reply beyond that number of pages, it will be better that you print as before, in a distinct pamphlet. My object is enquiry after truth. Every man who thinks at all, thinks himself correct in his notions for the time being, and the only way to propagate the greatest portion of truth is to tolerate free discussion. I therefore call upon you, if

you receive any change of opinion from what I have written, to state it to the Legislature, as a reason why I ought not to be imprisoned. This I consider your duty, or the duty of any man who has ever received conviction of former error by having read my publications. I shall never ask for release myself; I should feel degraded were I to do so, but the case is totally different with any man whose opinions I may have changed, as it is not for what I think myself, but for what I wish to lead others to think that I am imprisoned and robbed. It is because I wish and will to publish what I think as well as what others think.

In the course of your Letter you frequently charge me with "magisterial assertion," "overbearing dictation," and a variety of such phrases, but after having read your pamphlet, I feel myself quite an humble, unassuming character upon such topics. On the first glance at it, I began to think about personal annihilation, so powerful were your denunciations, so dreadful the threatened "carnage" among my opinions; but on a second perusal I perceived it all to be wind, that refreshes instead of demolishing, that cleanses instead of corrupting. You have strengthened my admiration of my own opinions, and have made me set a much higher value upon them than before. The weight of your artillery cannot shake them; you have done nothing but prove their strength.

Your concluding observations on the Bible are beneath my notice to make any remarks upon. There is no one position but I could find passages in the Bible calculated to support it. It is a book of every thing and nothing. It is a paltry, contemptible book for a man calling himself a philosopher to notice. If it were to fall into oblivion there would be nothing lost to truth or morals. It is a book that I never will treat with respect, because it is not intrinsically entitled to any, either for its contents or utility.

I now take my leave of you until I see something more of yours in print, either in the shape of a reply to this or an essay upon some other subject. I promise to answer every thing you write in opposition to the doctrines of materialism, or the eternity and infinity of matter. I will shatter every supernatural image you venture to erect, and prove it nothing superior to the grossest idolatry that ever was practised. If idolatry be a vice, then is all religion vicious, for the words idolatry and religion are strictly synonymous. Morality must find another basis than religion before it can operate effectually among mankind. A



practical morality is the only thing deserving of being called a natural or national religion. I beg you to receive this as a specimen of practical morality, and as a Letter written in the spirit of free and fair discussion; and should you be able to controvert its doctrines, you will receive no thanks more hearty than those of

R. CARLILE.

TO MR. RICHARD CARLILE, DORCHESTER GAOL.

Oldham, March 16, 1822.

RESPECTED AND MUCH INJURED SIR,

It is with great pleasure that a few of your friends in this town have again the honour of addressing you: they beg you will accept the enclosed £2. 8s. 4d. towards obtaining you that support your exertions in the cause of universal liberty so well merit.

Sir, we have the honour to acquaint you that the Republicans of this town met on the 29th day of January, to celebrate the anniversary of the birth of that illustrious and immortal individual Thomas Paine.

As a zest to our festivity we had a simple meal provided, after which we enjoyed the expression of the following toasts:

JONATHAN JACKSON in the Chair.

1. The immortal Memory of Thomas Paine, and may his merits and exertions be duly appreciated.
2. Richard Carlile, and may the exertions he has made in the cause of freedom be remembered to the latest generations.
3. The immortal Memory of Mirabaud, that monument of Nature.
4. Joseph Rhodes, and the shopmen of Mr. Carlile, may they always keep true to the cause of Liberty.
5. Republican Government, and may it always keep free of Kings and Priests.
6. May the Sun never shine on a Tyrant, or go down on a Slave.
7. May the Altar of Liberty be erected on the ruins of Despotism.
8. May the Temple of Freedom have all the World for its worshippers.
9. May the day be not distant when the politics of Paine and divinity of Mirabaud shall shine forth like the unclouded meridian Sun.

Sir, whilst we were thus employed in testifying the feelings of grateful minds for having received the political lessons left us by Thomas Paine, we resolved never to miss the opportunity of celebrating the returns of the day.

We assure you, Sir, that the number of Republicans in Oldham increases every day, and those who are of that number desire to express, in a public manner, their sincere gratitude and respect towards you.

With best wishes for yourself and family, for the Republicans of Oldham.

I remain, yours truly,

JOSHUA KERSHAW, North Moore, Oldham.

P. S. Two Pounds of the money sent is from the Oldham Republican Fund, and the remaining 8s. 4d. was brought by the hand of a gentleman from a few friends to freedom, which you will be so good to acknowledge as such.

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TO MR. JOSHUA KERSHAW, OLDHAM.

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Dorchester Gaol, March 26, 1822.

REPUBLICANS OF OLDHAM,

I RETURN you thanks for this continuation of your support, and feel happy to hear that your numbers are increasing. There are men who call themselves Reformers, and who say that Republicans are not Reformers! This may be swallowed by simpletons who know nothing about principles, and I am sure the assertion is made with no other intent than to delude a few such men, but you, Republicans, and every man of sense and common ideas, must treat the propagators of such nonsense, with contempt. Under a corrupt government a Republican is the only proper designation of those who wish sincerely to reform it. The men who oppose us are nothing but factious party men, mere sectarians; being without principles themselves, they have none to teach to others. All is a clamour about names and words of sound with them. All is delusion, and they studiously calumniate those who seek to open the eyes and clear the heads of their deluded adherents. We challenge investigation: we challenge discussion. If we are wrong in our notions of right, we say, shew it us candidly, and then we will come back to you. But, no, this is not what is wanted; the object with deluders ever has been to set up some name as sacred, and then bawl themselves hoarse and stupid upon it. The happiness of mankind demands that this delusion should cease. It demands the investigation of every principle and pretension, and a mutual toleration of opinion whilst we investigate others opposed to our own. If we cannot convince, we have no right to denounce or to persecute. If all examine, all is done that is necessary, and the majority must preponderate.

Pursue the onward path, Republicans of Oldham, be not ashamed to avow these principles, the superiority of which is impressed upon your minds after the fullest examination. Rather seek to teach than to denounce others, but let not their clamour or abuse move or alarm you. Every animal what-



ever be its organization, if it be of any bulk, has the power of making some noise, and the abuse or the noise of some men must be viewed as a deficiency of the intellectual organization, and not as ridicule or as proceeding from a better idea of right.

Republicans, our principles will always bear repeating. A Representative System of Government, where the voice of one man shall be equal to the voice of the other, and all alike, is the basis of our principles. We protest against all family distinction or hereditary right. To all our enemies, and pretended friends, worse than open enemies, we say, "*if we are wrong, shew it; if you cannot, follow and support.*"

Ever yours,

R. CARLILE.

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TO MR. R. CARLILE, DORCHESTER GAOL.

SIR,

Leeds, March 20, 1822.

In answer to your call in No. 10 of "The Republican," I send you my name, as one willing to enter the lists against the Bridge Street and Essex Street Gangs. You will, perhaps, think this unnecessary, as you have had my name before, but I wish you to understand, that the vindictive sentences on Holmes and Rhodes have not deterred me from following their example.

This letter will answer another purpose; it will let you see my writing, so that you cannot be deceived as to how far I shall be capable of serving you.

I feel quite sensible of the importance of the cause in which you are engaged. It is whether we are to have free discussion on all matters of opinion, or, whether we are still to be kept in ignorance, misery, and degradation, by those equally base impostors, Kings and Priests. Your boldness and perseverance in the cause of free discussion is unparalleled, and must gain you the admiration of all those who have any pretensions to liberality. It is the duty of every friend to honesty and humanity to step forward and render you that assistance which you have requested, and which you have so great a right to expect.

Yours, respectfully,

No. 4, Water Lane Bank, Leeds.

JOSEPH GILL.

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TO MR. R. CARLILE, DORCHESTER GAOL.

SIR,

Leeds, March 22, 1822.

HAVING seen in one of your Numbers of "The Republican," a call for the names of a few more advocates of Republicanism, I

do hereby offer you mine, to serve as shopman, or in any other capacity you may think most beneficial to the cause of Liberty.

I intended to have offered my service when Boyle and others were arrested; but, in consequence of the sudden robbery of your shop by the Bridge Street Robbers, I relinquished the design till another opportunity should offer itself, which I am happy to see has arrived.

Little Jefferies with his two years imprisonment and hard labour on Rhodes, has not intimidated me in the least; hard labour is what I am daily accustomed to, not only to keep myself, but help to keep a number of impostors under the denomination of Priests, who lead the mind astray on purpose to enslave the body.

I am, with due respect,

WILLIAM LIDDLE.

At Benjamin Harrison's, Caverly Hill Bank, Leeds.

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TO MR. RICHARD CARLILE.

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FELLOW CITIZEN,

Leeds, March 23, 1822.

WE, the Republicans of Leeds, have the pleasure to transmit you the sum of £5. 3s. 6½d. as a further mark of our respect and admiration of the patriotic stand you have made against that mass of corruption called Priestcraft and Kingcraft. A body that is so concentrated in acts of infamy, and that displays so formidable a front, has been forced to swerve, when those powers called Reason and Philosophy have opposed it. Republicanism knows no power but that which proceeds from the united voice of the people, and woe to that tyrant who sets it at defiance. Shall we who have read the works of the immortal Paine and the invincible Carlile, stand heedlessly by whilst Corruption destroys every particle of our Liberty? No: we will wield that shield in the face of despotism which shall ultimately drive it into that abyss which it had prepared for the sons of freedom. The public good shall continue to be our end and aim, and he who will not assist us in the anxious struggle, shall be denounced as a base and infamous coward. The good, the just, the honest, and the virtuous, shall denounce him as unfit to enjoy those comforts and blessings which nature intended for her creatures: he shall not find a resting place, nor participate in the happiness of domestic comfort, until he has done penance for that gross neglect of duty.

We congratulate you on the blow you have given to that monster called Religion; for we feel confident that liberty will be only a thing of the imagination until superstition has received a deadly blow; for under the mask of Religion is hidden that hydra-



headed monster called Vice. So baneful to the happiness of the human species. Priests have been and always will be the advocates of ignorance: and to this evil may be attributed the jargon with which the country is deluded. Let man study Nature and contemplate the beautiful works she offers to his view then he will find a subject worth his consideration. He will find that her laws are fixed and immutable, and tending to one common good. The oppression we at present feel, and the tyranny that is heaped upon us may be attributed to the fabrications of the Priest, and to the contradictory dogmas which have imposed upon the credulity of the ignorant. He has led men's bewildered mind from that point which alone could procure him happiness. He has told him that suffering in this world will procure him everlasting joys in that which is to come, in order to monopolize to his craft the joys of this: and until Priestcraft and Kingcraft shall cease to exist, and Republicanism and Reason are placed on that pedestal which they ought to occupy, we shall have no protection against those arch impostures. We feel great pleasure in perusing the 10th Number of your "Republican" where we find that we are again to be enriched with more productions from the pen of that Noble of Nature, Thomas Paine, for every production from his pen is a mortal stab to tyranny, and will, with the assistance of the honest and upright, ultimately break the chains that bind us. We hope that by the time they are ready to appear amongst us, there will be another Temple of Reason opened in the centre of the Metropolis for their more extensive circulation, and that men of honesty and virtue will be found ready to meet the darts either of the Vice Society or the Bridge Street Horde: for though the Common Tyrant at the Old Bailey may chain and oppress the body he cannot controul the mind, and we pledge ourselves that no pecuniary assistance we can afford shall be wanted to accelerate its progress. We hope you will proceed from your prison as the sun rises to its meridian splendour, and the robbery and injustice which has been inflicted upon you, your wife, and sister, will meet its reward from the honest part of the public. Wishing you and your family every happiness which your secluded station will admit.

I am, Fellow Citizen, in behalf of the whole,

Your ardent Admirer,

JAMES WATSON.

*Account of Subscriptions received for RICHARD CARLILE, since January 1, 1822.*

	s.	d.		s.	d.
Robert W. Byerly, A Materialist	2	6	craft, Hypocrisy, and every other species of delusion.	1	0
Mrs. Byerly, a determined enemy to Kingcraft, Priest-			Eleanor Byerley, Sarah By-		
Vol. V. No. 14.			erley, Esther Byerley, the		

Gift they had given on the			David Ramsden	4
Era of the Carpenter's			W. E.	2 0½
Wife's Son's Birth-day	1	6	William Hampson, Wake-	
John Smithson.	4	6	field	0 6
James Warburton	2	6	A Friend	0 6
James Mann	2	0	Robert Walker	0 6
Mr. Witham	0	6	Joseph Slingsby	0 6
John Whincup	3	0	Mrs. Thorp	0 6
Thomas Evans	2	6	John Wood	0 9
Joseph Hurtley	1	0	Joseph Gill	2 0
Joseph Hurtley, jun. John			The support of a Friend	1 0
Hurtley, and Jane Hurt-			George Lee	2 0
ley, to Thomas Paine Car-			Joseph Shires	1 0
lile	0	7	John Mortimer	1 0
William Driver	2	0	John Dixon	0 6
Samuel Ingham	1	8	A Friend	0 9
Thomas Steel	3	0	An enemy to religious Perse-	
John Perkin	0	6	cution	0 4
John Baxter	0	3	James Smithson, that he had	
William Cook	0	3	given for a yule clog in	
William Horrocks	0	3	commemoration of the	
W. L.	2	0	Birth-day of the Carpen-	
An enemy to civil and reli-			ter's Wife's Son	0 4
gious Persecutions	3	0	From a few friends at Hol-	
John Walsh	0	6	beck, near Leeds, who met	
Joseph Oates	0	6	to celebrate the birth-day	
Samuel Booth	2	0	of Thomas Paine	7 6
James Longbottom	0	6	John Houlding	2 6
John Schofield, A real Re-			John Sayner	1 0
publican	0	0	Joshua Sayner	1 6
Joseph Bentley	1	9	Joseph Croft	1 0
J. Kirk	1	0	Anvil Politics	0 6
J. Goldthorp	0	6	William Palmer	0 6
James Watson	2	0	John Jones	0 6
O. Wetherell	0	3		

### TO MR. JAMES WATSON, LEEDS.

#### CITIZEN,

THE uniform, the steady, and the ample support that I receive from the Republicans of Leeds demands every expression of gratitude that I can make, and every mark of esteem that I can convey: though doubtless our satisfaction is mutual, because the object in view is the same, to extend the greatest possible degree of happiness to the greatest possible number of individuals, and we conclude that this can only be done by a Legislature and a Magistracy that shall be the choice of the whole people expressed by their majorities.

When we can once attain this object and a perfect freedom of speech and of the Printing Press, we have no fear



of accomplishing every other good by fair and open discussion.

I am happy in perceiving the rapid progress these sound principles are making in the great county of Yorkshire; and that this spread is taking place in opposition to every political power and persecution, is the best guarantee for the final accomplishment of our object.

I am also happy in informing you that a friend of mine has taken a house and shop in the immediate neighbourhood of my late residence, and is determined that every thing I will publish shall be sold there and openly. The Solicitor General lately boasted in Parliament that the repeated prosecutions had put down my publications, he must have known this to be a wilful lie when he uttered it, for throughout the country they have not been checked in the least instance by the late prosecutions, and in London they have been checked but partially, not owing to the Prosecuting Gangs, but to the ROYAL BURGLARY committed on my premises, and as we found some difficulty in making a shopman of the King, even behind the screen, many customers have been disappointed, and did not know where and how to apply for them, but you well know that "The Republican" has not ceased for a week, nor has its tone been altered; and should his Majesty intrude himself on me again as a lodger, I will either make him a printer or a vendor, as I have done at 55, Fleet Street. He shall not be idle whilst in possession of the same house with me.

I am, Citizen, respectfully yours,

R. CARLILE.

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TO MR. RICHARD CARLILE.

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Edinburgh, March 25, in the year 1822 of the Carpenter's Wife's Son.

SIR, I READ, with horror and astonishment, the account of the usage that Mrs. Carlile received after your imprisonment; I could not have imagined, that beings calling themselves men could have used a woman in such a manner: but what can we expect from men who give up their minds to the guidance of those deceivers of mankind, the Clergy.

From your statement of the conduct of *Justice Best*, I am of opinion, that there is nothing wanting but the insertion

of the first letter of the alphabet into his name to complete his character, and make him be pronounced *Justice Beast*.

I have often been surprized to hear the canting Christians, when speaking of the universe, mention it as a piece of workmanship; which is an assertion they advance without any proof, with the intention, I suppose, of conveying to the world the need of their imaginary Creator. Can any rational person, after a little consideration, believe that the immensity of space, at some former period, was void, or that all things in it were in utter confusion? A great many men have given themselves much trouble in endeavouring to support the ridiculous opinion, that there once was a time when there was nothing in existence, or that all was in disorder and confusion: but as we are perfectly convinced that things are in existence at the present time, what proof can we have the Priests that there was a time when these things were not in existence? The Clergy have always twisted reason, on purpose that they might dupe mankind into the belief, that there was a time when there was nothing in existence. Then they pretended to argue fairly, by saying, that this universe could not call itself into existence, hence the necessity of an imaginary and inconceivable something, to put the universe into its present, or as they say, better order. But has not this imaginary something as much need of another something, to call it into existence or order, as has the material universe? Thus we may go on multiplying causes to an infinity. But why go so far? Let us content ourselves with the material universe. Is it not more reasonable to believe that the universe has existed from all eternity, in some such order as at present, than to suppose that there was a time when nothing existed, or that all was in utter confusion for an eternity before order arrived? We all know that the universe, so far as we are acquainted with it, is in order; and because it is so, are we to infer that it was once out of order, or not in existence at all? Such perverted reasoning is utterly contemptible.

I have seen by the Public Papers, as well as by your "*Republican*," that the interested Bigots have again shut up your shop and seized all your property a second time; but fear not, my dear Friend, you will every day be more convinced, that the friends of free discussion will stand forward to assist you; indeed, it would be an eternal reproach upon them to suffer you to fall a sacrifice to those idolaters who cannot support their system by any other means than persecutions and penal laws, by which they wish to shackle



the minds of independent men. We now plainly see that their persecutions have done a great deal of good to our cause, although they have been the occasion of much individual misery; and it was absolutely necessary that such a man as yourself, who was endowed with more than common fortitude, should stand up to expose and oppose these PERSECUTING Christians.

I am happy to inform you, that some of the Friends of Civil and Religious Liberty in this city, stimulated, no doubt, by your manful exertions against oppression and Priestcraft, had a meeting on Monday, the 18th instant, to consider the propriety of opening a subscription to assist you in the struggle you are making against such powerful enemies. Your prosecution, and the seizures of your property, has been the means of making many a liberal-minded man, who took matters quite easy before, come forward and avow his opinions. And, from what I know, you are every day gaining the approbation of disinterested men.

I hereby send you an account of our meeting, which you may publish if you think proper.

We assembled a little after six o'clock in the evening, and at seven o'clock, Mr. ROBERT AFFLECK, Grocer, was called to the Chair, after which he addressed the meeting to the following effect:—

"Gentlemen, We are all aware of the strictness and the severity of the laws concerning Public Meetings held for political purposes, but this is no political Meeting, it is held for benevolent purposes. Gentlemen, we are met here for the purpose of considering the best means of ameliorating the condition and of alleviating the distresses of a worthy family, who are suffering imprisonment under a very severe sentence of the law, in what we consider a noble cause.

"We are met here for the purpose of raising a subscription for the benefit of Richard Carlile and his family, who are suffering a severe imprisonment, and are to pay a heavy fine, for what we account a worthy action—for printing and publishing the AGE OF REASON and the PRINCIPLES OF NATURE, (two books which we hold in high estimation) and for boldly advocating free discussion. Richard Carlile has been blamed by his persecutors for spreading blasphemy and immorality by publishing these two books, but the charge is false, and may be retorted upon his accusers. There is not a blasphemous or immoral sentence in either of these works; none who have read them can say there is. Mr. Paine's principal objection against the Bible is the very wicked and immoral conduct of the great men who are praised in it. We would do a man

less injury to deny his existence altogether, than to blacken his character and ascribe murders to him; the same with the *Deity*: were any man to deny the existence of his Majesty, he would hardly be thought guilty of a crime—but were a man to assert that his Majesty had ordered a set of brigands to murder the people, to rob and plunder the country, he would be held guilty of crime, and liable to punishment: such is the comparison between Richard Carlile and some others concerning the *Deity*:

“As morality has been introduced, I wish now to direct your attention to the character and conduct of this individual. From any information I can obtain, his moral character will bear the severest scrutiny; he has been a dutiful son, a kind brother, and an affectionate husband. He has fulfilled all the duties of life with honour to himself and satisfaction to his family: indeed, had there been a fault in his conduct, or a spot in his character, it would have been exposed to the world in the blackest colours by his malignant enemies. He raised himself, by his industry and good conduct, (not by patronage) from a journeyman mechanic to a master, and was doing well in business until ruined by his enemies. Though he had not the advantage of a learned education, yet what he has written has shamed many of the learned, and put some bearded Doctors to silence; he has displayed a strength of mind, a boldness of spirit, which I admire in him, though I have little claim to such boldness myself: he is an honour to free-thinkers, and his wife and sister are an honour to their sex.

“Though his enemies have said he was spreading immorality, his character will stand a comparison with any of those who sat in judgment upon him; he is superior to some of them, and inferior to none. How would his character shine if compared with that of a great man whom I will not name? Is he inferior to the *pious* Sidmouth, the *patriotic* Castlereagh, or the *venerable* Judges Best or Bailey? I hold him equal to any of them in point of character, and I value his political principles greatly above theirs. These *honourable* persons wish us to enjoy liberty, but well-regulated, so strictly regulated, that it would not deserve the name of liberty; they wish Englishmen to enjoy as many political privileges as Scotchmen or Irishmen, and the whole to enjoy as much freedom as the natives of Russia and Prussia: but Richard Carlile strives for freedom to all, he advocates the Liberty of the Press, and free discussion, and wishes his principles open to the severest scrutiny.

“Having compared him with some of his enemies, I may now compare him with some other sceptics, with Hobbes, Bolingbroke, Hume, and Gibbon. Those great writers, though excellent moral characters, were none of them friends of freedom; though they despised religion, they did not tell their minds freely and openly, and they were willing to sacrifice the liberties of mankind to the caprice of tyrants. But Richard Carlile is very different, he tells



his mind freely both on religion and politics, and so plainly, that every one can understand him; he thinks no sacrifice too great to overthrow tyranny and superstition; he has risked liberty, life, and fortune, to secure freedom from religious tyranny for his countrymen; he is now suffering, and shall we not contribute to relieve him? In the boldness of his spirit and perseverance in resisting bigoted tyranny, he is equalled by few, and surpassed by none; in the clearness and plainness of his writings, both on politics and religion, he is second only to Thomas Paine, who was an extraordinary man—the friends of freedom ought all to venerate his name, America owed much to him in gaining her independence, he exerted himself for a similar renovation in Britain, in Europe, but tyranny and superstition suppressed that work for a time. Richard Carlile, among others, has endeavoured to revive it; but it is a melancholy fact, though no less true, that the more rational a man's opinions are, and the more he employs his reason on either religion or politics, he is the more detested by our rulers, the more sure to be oppressed and persecuted. Lucky Buchan in Scotland, and Joanna Southcote in England, two new Saviours, were neither of them punished or prosecuted, and were their doctrines more reasonable, were their opinions as rational as those of Thomas Paine or Richard Carlile? We have now to consider the sentence against him—THREE YEARS IMPRISONMENT, and a FINE of £1500, and securities for behaviour afterwards. The imprisonment is severe, the fine is enormous. His enemies, no doubt, thought when this sentence was pronounced that he would never be able to pay the fine, nor yet find securities, and, consequently, that his imprisonment would be for life; and they have done all that they could to make it so by twice forcibly seizing his property, and shutting up his shop. In their conduct to him they have displayed the spirit of Christianity, indeed; they have shewn that an *auto da fe* would have given them satisfaction! Is it not strange, that with a Priesthood in this country more than 20,000 strong, and with a revenue of several millions, that they should be so much afraid of a little book? Is it not strange, that Thomas Paine and Richard Carlile should make such a ponderous system shake to its foundation? Can they not answer them? If they cannot, or do not, it is a proof that their house is built upon the sand—if it is founded on truth, they have nothing to fear from enquiry.

“They tell us that Christianity is founded on a rock, and that the gates of Hell shall not prevail against it, but they themselves do not believe this; they trust nothing to it; they are the unbelievers themselves; they trust more to penal laws for supporting Christianity than to the Deity, or all the promises which they say he has made them. The Church of Rome, in the dark ages, though it acted with greater cruelty, yet it acted with more con-

sistency than the Protestant Churches ; its dignitaries knew that the Bible would not stand examination, they therefore prohibited the use of it, to keep the people from error : the Protestant Churches recommend the use of it, but if in the course of your reading and examination you differ from them as to its merits, if you see faults and contradictions in it, and tell your mind on the subject, they doom you to punishment in this life, and damnation in the next.

“ Such being the spirit of bigotry, Mr. Carlile has done well to expose it. Messrs. Cobbett, Hunt, and Wooler have made great exertions in the cause of Reform, and deserve also our thanks and support ; there has been some difference among them, I wish it had been otherwise—their united strength is too little for the great work they have undertaken, it is less when disunited and at variance.

“ The Reform proposed by Richard Carlile (I believe) is most to our minds ; he strikes at the root of all tyranny, both political and religious ; for exposing both he is suffering a severe imprisonment, and must pay a heavy fine, as I observed before. His enemies, by imposing so enormous a fine, have shewn that they meant to make his imprisonment for life ; they have proved that they meant so, by twice seizing his property, to deprive him of the means of paying it.

“ Mrs. Carlile, and his sister, also deserve our sympathy and respect in a high degree ; they have done what few females would have done, in a cause so calumniated and unpopular. It is our duty to assist that family as much as we can, as the safety of every free-thinker in the kingdom is seriously threatened by the attacks on their persons and property. Free-thinkers have lived too little in union among themselves, they have supported one another too little in adversity ; but I hope they will unite for the future. We ought all to contribute to the assistance of this family ; I do not expect you will be enthusiasts to injure your own families, I wish you to be just, as well as generous ; but you may spare a little from luxuries, and the poor man’s shilling will be as well received and respected as the richer man’s guinea. Consider your circumstances, and give what you can.”

The above speech was received with marked applause.

I then did myself the honour to propose the following Resolutions, which were seconded by Mr. David Leitch, who in a very handsome manner stated the necessity of giving you every support in our power. Several other Gentlemen also delivered their opinions in neat and pointed speeches, all expressing their approbation of the benevolent purpose for which we were assembled. The Resolutions were then read, and put *seriatim*, and unanimously adopted.



A subscription then commenced, and the sums annexed to the different names were immediately collected.

Expecting to hear from you soon, consider me, dear Sir,  
your sincere friend,

J. AFFLECK.

### RESOLUTIONS.

At a Meeting of the Friends of Civil and Religious Liberty, held in Mrs. Maxton's Tavern, Old Fish Market, Edinburgh, upon Monday, the 18th day of March, 1822, the following Resolutions were unanimously adopted.

I. That all men have a natural right to express their opinions on every subject; and any endeavour to punish them for using that right, or to deprive them of it, is nothing less than a barefaced attempt to shackle their minds, and keep them perpetually in mental bondage; against which thousands of intelligent men have expressed their abhorrence.

II. That free inquiry and discussion on every subject is the only means of promoting intellectual improvement, and the interest of mankind in general.

III. That as the Printing Press is the grand medium of information, it is the duty of every friend to civil and religious liberty, to use all their endeavours to prevent it from being fettered, and also to assist those who have honestly used it, as the means of expressing their opinions.

IV. That this Meeting is of opinion, that the Liberty of the Press, the Freedom of Discussion, and the safety of every friend to liberty in this kingdom, has been seriously menaced by the attacks on the person and property of Richard Carlile, it is therefore our bounden duty to do every thing in our power to enable him to overcome the prosecutions and robberies to which he has been subjected, by interested bigots and fanatics, who at the same time pretend that persecution is contrary to the tenets of their *meek and holy religion*.

V. That this Meeting view with abhorrence and detestation the conduct of certain persons, who have caused the property of Richard Carlile to be seized, and his shop to be shut, evidently with the intention of depriving him of the means of paying the enormous fines that have been imposed on him; and, by which proceedings they think to keep him a perpetual prisoner; therefore we consider it a duty incumbent on us, to open a subscription to enable him to bear up against such monstrous oppression.

VI. That this Meeting recommend that subscription papers be left with different individuals, to give an opportunity to others,

who may be inclined to give any thing for the above purpose, and that a Committee be appointed to receive what is collected, and to transmit it in a regular manner.

VII. That this Meeting would also suggest to the friends of freedom in other places of the kingdom, the propriety of holding meetings for the same purpose; that the time-serving tools of corruption may be convinced, that those who wish liberty to mankind, are determined to support the persecuted and oppressed advocates of their emancipation.

*The following Sums were subscribed:*

£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Robert Affleck 2 2 0	John M'Niven 3 3 0
Gordon Murray 0 5 0	William Bleekie 0 5 0
A. Crawford 0 14 0	William Nilson 0 1 0
Andrew Lauder 0 1 0	George Herriot 0 1 0
William Wilson 0 5 0	James M'Intosh 0 2 6
William Mountcastle 0 5 0	A Friend to all persecut-
James Laurie 0 0 6	ed Men 0 1 0
Thomas Webster 0 4 0	An Enemy to all Perse-
David Moncur 0 2 0	cution 0 1 0
Boyle Kirk 0 1 0	From three Friends, but
David M'Donald 0 2 0	not one person 0 12 6
James Scott 0 1 0	From a Friend 0 3 0
James M'Donald 0 1 6	James Nysmith 0 4 0
David Leitch 0 10 0	Thomas Petrie 0 1 0
A Deist 0 5 0	John Kisson 0 1 0
Alexander Gray 0 1 0	John Grinton 0 2 6
William Hay 1 1 0	A Friend to Free Dis-
John Young 0 1 0	cussion 0 2 0
James Sandiland 0 1 6	J. T. 0 3 0
William Lumsden 0 2 0	From a Friend, who wishes
James Affleck 1 1 0	his mite was a guinea 0 0 6
John Spence 0 1 0	P. T. who despises all Re-
A Friend to Mental Liberty 0 5 0	vealed Religions 0 0 6
James Hogg 0 2 6	

**MR. JAMES AFFLECK, EDINBURGH.**

Dorchester Gaol, April 1,  
1822, of the Carpenter's Wife's Son.  
DEAR SIR, A COMMUNICATION from Edinburgh is the sure source of renewed pleasure to me, as by each I find a steady increase of the principles of Republicanism and Deism. All your movements are so open and respectable, as to defy calumny and to silence opposition; and if they are not reported in the Newspapers of the day, we have the satisfaction of



knowing that it arises from the dread of free discussion on the part of our enemies, and not from any fear on our parts.

Be pleased to communicate my thanks to the Subscribers for the addition of £13 to a subscription for the payment of my fines. As soon as I can settle them, I will open such a mart for the propagation of our principles as shall baffle all the efforts of all our enemies. It was evident to all, that before this second seizure of my property, the two Prosecuting Gangs, with the Attorney-General in conjunction, could do nothing by prosecutions to check the sale of my publications. To rob was their last resource; and even now they have done nothing more, comparatively speaking, than to shut up a shop where my publications were sold, in which they have been met by another being opened within a gun-shot of the same place. This is the plan by which we shall follow them up and harass them. They may rob me and lessen my property, but their main object, the checking the sale of my publications, shall be baffled. We can continually print anew; and if I were never to write a line more, there is quite enough written already for every purpose. The writings of Thomas Paine are all sufficient, and elucidation they need none.

You will find by my Letter to Mr. Humphreys, that I was writing on the same subject as your letter contains, just at the same moment, and have fallen on the same expressions, as far as you have gone into the matter. I have challenged any man living to mention a reality that I cannot shew to be material. You, no doubt, will be pleased to notice the coincidence of our opinions upon this point, and I feel assured that if ever there be any thing like a uniformity in the opinions of mankind, it will be when they rest upon the principles of materialism. This is the only solid ground. This is the ground where no objections can be taken, until spiritualities can be proved, and there is little hope of that, even among Priests, in the present *infant* state of science.

My antagonist, Mr. Humphreys, is a gardener to some man of property in the neighbourhood of Huddersfield; but I am informed, his pamphlet has been the joint work of the Priests of his neighbourhood; that is to say, I have been informed, that it has been handed about in manuscript from one Priest to another for correction, but how it originated, in the first instance, I have no information. My answer to him was off hand, written one day, travelling to London the second, and printed on the third, without my

having the opportunity to correct it. But I do not expect that he will reply to any thing it contains, unless it were to be upon verbal or grammatical criticism. Philosophically, I have no fear of him, aided by all the Priests in the Island.

I am very sanguine in the idea, that another year will bring such an accession to our strength, as to stay the rage of persecution on the part of the Christians. It would be done instantly if all Deists were "*bold enough to be honest, and honest enough to be bold,*" (an admirable expression of Paine's). At present there are thousands of Deists who are each afraid to speak, lest some part of the persecution should fall upon him. The tradesmen of Edinburgh are much more forward than even the tradesmen of London on this head. In London there would be no possibility of getting a tavern for such a meeting as you held without endangering its licence.

I am, Citizen, respectfully, yours,

R. CARLILE.

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TO MR. RICHARD CARLILE, DORCHESTER GAOL.

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London Place, Stockport, March 29, 1822,  
 of the Era of the Carpenter's Wife's Son.

CITIZEN,  
 It is with unfeigned pleasure I again accept of the request to address you on the part of the Republicans of Stockport, our efforts have enabled us to send you the sum of Five Pounds, as a further proof of our esteem for those virtuous and noble principles you possess and spiritedly propagate, I should have felt a still greater pleasure had the office devolved upon some one more able to have assisted you in giving effect to that mighty and overwhelming blow you have given Kingcraft and Priestcraft, for certain I am that this is the time for all the genius in support of truth and reason to rouse and take an active part in assisting you to follow up the blow so effectually given, I perceive the press assassins have made another attempt to stifle truth by sending your shopmen to dungeons, the brave fellows did their duty, and a few more such shopmen will sweep both Kingcraft and Priestcraft down the stream of Contempt into the vortex of Oblivion, their to ruminate on the fall of their One and Three, and Three and One God or Gods, the reptiles might have been convinced long ago of the impropriety of dungeons, for the more they attempt to stifle truth by such means the more rapid does it circulate, there are a few in this part of the country who are giving vent to their rage and



malice against you in consequence of some difference between Mr. Hunt and you, but I hope the good sense of the Republicans will prevent them from taking any notice of such malignity, the straight forward path to truth and reason is the path we ought to pursue, and he who deviates from that path ought to be discountenanced, the principal thing the Republicans should turn their attention to for the present is the payment of your fine, and your sisters, for which I would recommend weekly contributions; you, Sir, have sacrificed much in the cause of truth and reason, and we, as Republicans, ought to render you all the assistance our means will afford, I know men when determined can do much. I recollect when I purchased the Political Works of Mr. Paine, my means was very scanty, but so determined was I to put them in the hands of my children, that I deprived myself of both butter, sugar, and tea. I purchased them as Mr. Sherwin published them, I do not find that my body is any worse for it, but I find a great pleasure in possessing them, and think myself happy that I have it in my power to teach my children the true path to Republicanism, now I am willing to undergo the same thing again, until your fine is paid, and I know if the Republicans generally would follow the same plan, we should very soon have it paid for, I conceive it to be the duty of every friend to truth and justice to step forward with all their means will afford, towards accomplishing so desirable an object, I am anxious to see another Temple of Reason open, it is the Temple of Reason that makes your enemies writhe and twist like a snake in an exhausted receiver, and may they continue to twist themselves until they are poisoned by their own venom, is the hearty wish of your sincere friend and well-wisher.

WILLIAM PERRY.

P. S. The male and female Republicans of Stockport, send their best respects to Mrs. Carlile, and your sister; the females, in particular, are very anxious for Mrs. Carlile's precarious situation. It has been suggested by a gentleman in Stockport that the publication of a Tax-Dictionary will have a very good effect, say under the head of the particular letter whatever it may be, the tax, on the smallest quantity sold, for instance, brandy, under the head of B, and every other article taxed under the head of the same letter. Brandy, suppose we say 18s. per gallon, and so on.

*Amount of Subscriptions from Stockport.*

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## TO MR. WILLIAM PERRY,

AND THE MALE AND FEMALE REPUBLICANS OF STOCKPORT.

Dorchester Gaol, April 2, 1822,

CITIZENS, of the Era of the Carpenter's Wife's Son.

This day's post has brought me your welcome Letter with the sum of Five Pounds, as a further subscription towards meeting my fines, for which I repeat my thanks, and pledge myself not to relax my exertions and endeavours to improve and merit your esteem.

I have this daily assurance, and I wish every one to mark it well; that in the present comparatively enlightened age, he who stands upon sound and well understood principles, will never fall. Prejudices of all sorts I am prepared to encounter: the hostility of men without any principles for their guidance I expect, and will combat, if that hostility be open, but private slander always operates more powerful than that which is open, and to meet this, I must ask the assistance of all my friends.

That disputes among the advocates of liberty are baneful, I fully understand, but what is the proper point for union, unless it be principles that cannot be openly attached or impeached? What is the name of any man unless it be the emblem of some well understood and approved principles? Nothing in my mind. If a man denounces me without pointing out one error in my professions or practices, if he tells me that I have no right to be considered a Reformer, or to be supported by those men who call themselves Reformers, have I not a right, is it not my duty, to explain upon what my pretensions are founded, whilst I am continuing to receive the support of those persons. I am quite willing to leave it to Republicans, or to the men who call themselves Reformers, to say how far I am worth their notice. The paltry jealousies of Mr. Hunt have been answered from Nottingham, from Edinburgh, from Leeds, and now from Stockport, and I feel satisfied it will not stop here. However, I promise you, Republicans of Stockport, that after I have replied to the charges of falsehood made against me in the 30th Number of Mr. Hunt's Memoirs, and a manoeuvre of his in another quarter, I will drop the subject, if I am not further driven to its continuance.

I have this satisfaction, I never intruded myself into a public or private connection with any man: I never will do so: therefore every man who wishes it may keep himself

away and distinct from me. I shall not run after him or press myself upon his attention.

I am happy to inform you that I and my family are in good health and spirits, and such is the case with all who are imprisoned for assisting me, and all who are likely to be imprisoned. Mrs. Wright has notice of trial for the 15th instant, but I fear we shall be obliged to defer it, as she daily expects confinement as well as Mrs. Carlile.

Again accept my thanks and believe me, yours, in the cause of the only Radical Reform.

R. CARLILE.

### ERRATA.

In the last Number of "The Republican," in the Letter to Mr. Humphreys, page 415, there is a verbal error in line 10 from the bottom, *apology* for *analogy*. In the Letter to Mr. Moses Colclough, the word *general contribution* was written *generous contribution*. I am thus particular because they are words calculated to arrest suspicion and doubt as to their meaning. The Reader of the proofs often changes a word for me, which those who know what it is to get up a hurried periodical work will readily excuse.—R. C.

### TO CORRESPONDENTS.

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